[For additional brief statements on the "paramount" chief of the Rio Vermelho area, see also category 643.]

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[439] Tuẍawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[239] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551] [614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewaguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

## Leadership

● 634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuxawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out. [241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage° was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuẍawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuẍawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ûga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 849 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tušawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tušawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tušawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Čera [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/284 cont./

203 512 614 [537] The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours. [361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. [516] [302] Each lies down wrapped in a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or [285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where [533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

•634 [614] We were not able to obtain any serious information on the choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tuĭawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tuĭawa, the

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
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1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

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Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čębõgeʷõge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[34] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tuẍawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Ǩera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Ǩębege$^{w}$ō clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[713] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Ǩębege$^{w}$ōge.

127 Bibliography (1)
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1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./